Institute for European Environmental Policy

PARTY OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS (PES) MANIFESTO ANALYSIS

IEEP is carrying out an analysis of the European parties' manifestoes ahead of the European elections, to assess their commitments on environmental, climate and sustainability issues, against Think 2030 recommendations. The second analysis looks at PES's manifesto. The last publication will be an overall analysis.[1]

I. Highlights

The manifesto uses the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as an overarching framework for social-ecological progress and proposes the creation of an EU Sustainable Development Pact with social and ecological targets, backed by a Just Transition Fund. It includes a number of measures linking environmental protection together with social justice, including, for instance, a plan for affordable housing, clean public transport and a socially fair EU-wide carbon tax.

There is no specification on how to raise the climate ambition "in line with the Paris agreement". No specific target to 2030 is mentioned. Apart from a carbon tax, there are no concrete proposals regarding specific sectors or instruments that would put Europe on a pathway to become "carbon neutral by 2050".

Beyond broad principles, there are no proposed plans of action or specifications regarding the biodiversity crisis, the circular economy or the impact of the environment on health.

II. How prominent is the environment within the manifesto?

World cloud analysis[2] of the text in the PES manifesto does not show a clear topic being singled out, but different concepts having equal importance, such as social issues and social rights (social, rights, progress, societies, human, needs, common, welfare), democracy and public issues (people, citizens, tax, public, democracy, support) also some references to justice issues (discrimination, fair). Environment issues are also mentioned with environment, sustainable and climate. Also, the fourth paragraph is entitled 'a sustainable Europe that protects our planet', making sustainability one of the seven key priorities that are seen in the outline of the manifesto.

III. Problem analysis, objectives and proposals pertaining to the environment

Issues	Problem analysis	Objectives, principles and targets	Proposals, policies and instruments
Growth Model	Radical change needed	Ensure social and ecological progress Leave no one and no territory behind in the green transition Move to a circular economy of production and consumption Stay within the planet's limits	Long-term investment plan to prepare industries and workers for the green transition
Climate change	Renewal of European industry required European leadership required given that other are falling behind	Raise ambition in line with Paris agreement and with latest science Leader in renewable energy Become climate neutral by 2050 at the latest Fight energy poverty Making polluters pay and supporting investment in affordable clean energy	Plan for affordable housing and clean public transport EU-wide Taxation of CO_2 emissions in a socially fair way
Biodiversity	Global and European action required	Protect biodiversity on our continent and globally Mention of animal welfare	CAP meeting societal demands including protection of biodiversity
Pollution		Clean air, clean water, clean energy accessible for all Fight water poverty	

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[2] The word cloud analysis has been done based on the text of the manifesto. Words such as Europe, European and Europeans have been removed to produce the image in order to have a clearer idea of the main policy themes covered by the manifesto.

		Energy efficiency for housing	
Food	Change in CAP required to meet societal demands	Ensure fair agricultural transformation Guarantee accessible, healthy and good quality food	CAP reform including sustainable production methods, better nutrition, reduced food waste, better animal welfare, climate protection and protection of biodiversity
Wellbeing/Health/Quality of life	Healthy environment Guarantee citizens' wellbeing Guarantee accessible, healthy and good quality food, safe products	End to damaging exposure to chemicals Improving mobility, air quality, providing affordable and energy efficient housing to improve quality of life	
Global challenges and SDGs	Key role for Europe in an increasingly unstable world Climate change as root cause for migration Risk of economic dimension of development trumping others	Europe to become a benchmark for sustainable development	Binding social and environmental standards in trade agreements New partnership with Africa and a comprehensive European Investment plan for Africa

III. Comparative analysis

We based our analysis on the following dimensions:
- Is the environment higher on the agenda than before?
- Are there references to existing key international commitments?
- Are recommendations aligned to Europe's existing environmental strategy?
- Are they taking into account lessons from the most recent evaluations?
- How do they compare with recommendations from European environmental experts?

Comparison with 2014 Manifesto

While the 2014 manifesto already had a dedicated paragraph to a 'Green Europe', the 2019 manifesto's paragraph 'a sustainable Europe that protects our planet' is more central in the text than in 2014, highlighting a greater priority being put on sustainability than before. The subject is treated with a greater scope, outlining more specific problem analysis and proposals. The concepts of social ecological progress, just transition and the commitment to SDGs (noting of course that SDGs were approved in 2015) are also new elements compared with 2014.

Comparison with international commitments

Both the Paris Agreement and UN SDGs agenda for 2030 are mentioned. The SDGs is quite central to the manifesto, with a proposal for a Sustainable Development Pact and a Just Transition Fund.

Comparison with 7th Environmental Action Programme evaluation (2018)

Regarding the link between the manifesto and the 7th EAP, there is no specific measure as to how to protect the EU's natural capital. As for the resource-efficient and low-carbon economy, the manifesto mentions energy efficiency and proposes an EU-wide CO_2 emissions tax. There is also a reference to environmental health with mention of the exposure to toxic chemicals. However, the four enablers laid out in the 7th EAP[3] are not mentioned in the PES manifesto. One of the two horizontal priorities (make the Union's cities more sustainable) is not addressed.

Progress on meeting the 2020 goals set in the 7th EAP have been evaluated in the EEA Environmental indicator report 2018 in support to the monitoring of the 7th EAP. In the following table, targets seen as not likely to be met by the EU have been listed, and we have assessed whether they were mentioned by the PES manifesto.

Outlook for meeting objective by 2020 seen by not likely to be met in the EEA report (red indicator)	Commitment/mention in the PES manifesto
Exposure of terrestrial ecosystems to eutrophication due to air pollution	Protect biodiversity and stop pollution
Land take	Not mentioned
Gross nutrient balance in agricultural land: nitrogen	Not mentioned
Status of marine fish and shellfish in European seas	Not mentioned
Abundance and distribution of selected species	Biodiversity protection mentioned
Species of European interest	
Habitats of European interest	
Status of surface waters	Clean water
Greenhouse gas emissions from transport	Improve mobility + CO2 tax
Animal product consumption	Not mentioned
Share of environmental and labour taxes in total tax revenues	Taxation of CO2 emissions in a socially fair way
Exceedance of air quality standards in urban areas	Clean air/improving air quality
Exposure to environmental noise	Not mentioned

Comparison with Think2030

The Think 2030 platform has listed 30 key recommendations for Think 2030, divided into five main areas: Governance 2030, Prosperity 2030, Wellbeing 2030, Nature 2030 and Peace and Security 2030. The following table assesses links between the manifesto and the 30 key recommendations.

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[3] The four enablers include: better **implementation** of legislation; better **information** by improving the knowledge base; more and wiser **investment** for environment and climate policy and full **integration** of environmental requirements and considerations into other policies

Governance 2030	Prosperity 2030	Wellbeing 2030	Nature 2030	Peace and security 2030
Proposal of a **sustainable development pact** Reference to different levels of governance: **'leaving no territory behind in the green and digital transitions'**. Does not address the implementation gap and the role of business in sustainability	**Focus on climate change**, with an emphasis on distributional and access issues to energy, housing and public transport as well as EU-wide taxation of CO2 as part of a larger program of tax reform. Proposals on the macroeconomic and monetary framework of the EU do not refer to the environment; there is a reference to the need to move to a **circular economy** –both for production and consumption-- without a concrete proposal; there is also a reference to the need for a **fair agricultural transformation**.	A number of references to the need for **just transition and for both social and ecological progress**, There is a reference to the principle of leaving no one behind and to the need to address inequality as it pertains to the environment, with concrete proposals on transportation and housing. However, the text falls short of making a link between the social pillar of rights and sustainability. Mention of toxic chemicals, without concrete proposals	**Limited content on natural capital**: no concrete proposals on water or biodiversity; no references to ocean health; soil and land or the bioeconomy.	Focus on **trade, with a proposal on** binding social and environmental standards in international trade agreements, **and on the Paris agreement implementation**, **No link made between environment, peace and security policies,** beyond a reference to climate change as a root cause for migration.

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